

Item Subject: rwanda briefer - gore mtg

CONFIDENTIAL
DECL: OADR

UNCLASSIFIED

RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)(DIS)
65BACKGROUND ON RWANDA CRISISViolence on Two Levels

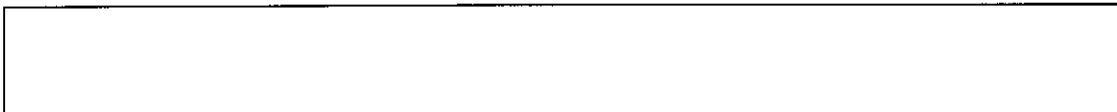
On April 6, Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana's plane crashed outside Kigali under suspicious circumstances, killing President Habyarimana and President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi. The plane was probably shot down, but the attacking party is not known. This event sparked massive violence on two levels:

First, elements of the Hutu-dominated Rwandan military, hardline Hutu militias from Habyarimana's MRND party and the right-wing CDR party, and Hutu extremist gangs began killing Hutu opposition politicians (including Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana) and Tutsi opposition leaders and civilians. The killings began in Kigali, but eventually spread throughout the country.

Second, fighting quickly broke out between Rwandan government forces and the Tutsi-dominated rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), effectively resuming the civil war that began in October 1990 and was to have ended on August 4, 1993, with the signing of the Arusha Peace Accord. The RPF has advanced steadily and now controls much of Kigali and much of the northern and eastern portions of the country. The newly created interim government, made up primarily of Hutu hardliners, has fled to Gitarama, southwest of Kigali.

Status of Cease-Fire Talks

With U.S. encouragement, the Tanzanian government, which served as host and Facilitator of the Arusha peace talks, has attempted to bring the parties back together to negotiate a cease-fire and relaunch the peace process. On May 3, the Rwandan government and the RPF sent delegations to attend talks in Arusha, but the talks broke down two days later when the RPF refused to sign a cease-fire agreement because a similar document was to be signed by the interim government, whose legitimacy the RPF does not accept. The RPF wants instead to talk directly with the Rwandan military command.



B1

97D 323

15222

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 10 MAY 2015
DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

UNCLASSIFIED

B1

[REDACTED]

With the recessing of the Arusha talks, the effort to negotiate a cease-fire has moved to Kigali, where UN Commander Dallaire is trying to bring the two sides together at the military command level.

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

The Humanitarian Crisis

The violence has left at least 100,000 dead (probably more), displaced hundreds of thousands internally, and forced over 300,000 Rwandans to flee to neighboring countries.

The Internal Problem. As many as one million persons throughout the country may have been displaced by the conflict. There are small enclaves of threatened groups gathered (trapped) in places of refuge in Kigali and other areas of Rwanda, above all behind government lines in the south and west. These people have sought refuge in stadiums, hotels, churches, and other discrete locations and cannot leave primarily because of road blocks and marauding gangs of irregular (Hutu) militia. Humanitarian assistance cannot be delivered to these groups without facing the threat of thugs and uncontrolled militia. ICRC's current target groups of internally displaced or persons in need is as follows:

Kigali	25,000
North/northeast	170,000 (expected to top 200,000)
Southeast	200,000
West (Gitarama)	100,000
South (Butare)	No estimates available

Refugees. Current estimates and locations of refugees are:

Tanzania (Ngara)	250,000
Burundi (North)	50,000
Zaire (Goma, Bukavu)	8,500
Uganda (Southwest)	5,500

These refugees do not face any immediate threat to their security. Although there were reports of large numbers of people trapped on the Rwanda side of the border in late April, it is unclear whether such mass groupings still exist.

The Humanitarian Needs. Specific needs have yet to be quantified. Food, medicines, blankets, and kitchen utensils are already being delivered. ICRC reports it has delivered 45 tons of medical supplies to health facilities within Rwanda as well as supplying surgical teams and field hospital facilities. ICRC is feeding 25,000 people in "safe havens" in Kigali and continues to distribute food to 60,000 persons in the northern Rwanda. It has also provided a first food distribution to 220,000 refugees in Ngara, Tanzania. The UN Department of Humanitarian affairs issued a flash appeal for

UNCLASSIFIED

\$11.5 million to cover organizational and start-up costs for UN and NGO's anticipating becoming involved in the relief effort. ICRC plans to issue an emergency appeal for Rwanda for roughly \$43 million and needs immediate cash contributions. UNHCR has indicated a need for \$38.8 million and has begun airlifts of relief supplies to Tanzania. Distribution poses major problems because of poor roads and a shortage of vehicles.

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

- 3 -

International Intervention Force

Government/RPF Views. Rwandan government forces have been in retreat, and the interim government would support almost any form of intervention. The RPF opposes any interpositional force or peacemaking operation designed to impose a cease-fire in the conventional war. They have also suggested they would oppose creation of large protected areas where Hutu extremist militia and thugs might flee to avoid RPF retribution. However, they have said they would support an intervention designed to deliver humanitarian aid and protect civilians threatened by the thuggery.

Dallaire Proposal. UNAMIR Commander Dallaire would like a force of 5,000 to 8,000 troops, with a mandate to use force as necessary to assure delivery of humanitarian assistance and to protect persons in threatened enclaves. The force would be expected to break through roadblocks manned by hoodlums and disarm roving gangs, who are often untrained youths armed only with machetes. The force would not become involved in trying to stop or somehow protect the general population from the conventional war between government and RPF forces, which is causing far fewer casualties than the marauding gangs and militias. Initial plans provide for the force to be staged out of Kigali. Fighting continues in Kigali and the airport remains unsecure, making movement of troops and supplies by air difficult. Dallaire believes this mission can be done under Chapter VI authority. He has requested 150 M-113 armored personnel carriers to protect his troops. The total cost for such a force is estimated at \$150-200 million per year.

UN Contingency Planning. The UN Security Council asked SYG Boutros-Boutros Ghali to provide contingency planning for delivery of humanitarian aid for Rwanda. The Council agreed to hold off on discussions of any draft resolutions of a possible expanded UN presence until the SYG sends his response, which is not expected before the end of this week. Boutros Ghali has called for an African force. Nigeria has offered a battalion, two other (unidentified) African battalions are said to be available, and Dallaire believes Australia may be willing to provide at least 1,000 troops to UNAMIR.

Position of the OAU/Regional Powers. The OAU was disappointed with the UN Security Council's decision to withdraw the bulk of the UNAMIR forces in the initial stages of the crisis. OAU SYG

UNCLASSIFIED

Salim Salim supports an expanded international force in Rwanda, but prefers the operation to be UN-led, with the OAU merely helping to identify African troop contributors. In his trip to the region, HA A/S Shattuck found general support for an enhanced UNAMIR presence to monitor any cease-fire and provide humanitarian assistance.

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

- 4 -

Security Council Resolutions. The NAM and New Zealand have both circulated draft resolutions that call for a Chapter VII UN operation. The NAM draft would give the force the mandate to restore law and order in Rwanda and establish a secure environment for relief efforts. The New Zealand draft would have the force protect relief operations and create weapons-free zones in which the UN would protect civilians.

B1

The U.S. Response to the Crisis

Humanitarian. The U.S. is examining several options to address the humanitarian disaster, including in particular a military operation to establish secure zones near the borders in Rwanda for the protection of persons at risk and for the delivery of humanitarian relief. Under this option, humanitarian assistance would be stored in neighboring countries and transported into the secure zones. The forces would be deployed outside the immediate war zone, making operations and logistics less difficult. The mission would defend the zones' perimeters against incursions and, within the zones, enforce security, disarm civilians and escort humanitarian assistance shipments. The protected zones created would not encompass enclaves of threatened persons in Kigali or other areas in the interior. The size of the force could range from 5,000 (for one to two zones) to 15,000 (for two to four zones). That would translate into a minimum annual expense of \$150-450 million depending on the number and size of the zones.

The U.S. government has already contributed approximately \$28 million in food, relief items, and earmarked funds to organizations assisting Burundi refugees and persons displaced following last October's coup attempt and subsequent widespread violence. In response to the Rwanda crisis, the Administration approved \$15 million in additional funding for new relief efforts in the area and has set aside an additional \$13 million in food commodities for that purpose.

Diplomatic. The U.S. has used diplomatic pressure in an effort

UNCLASSIFIED

to stop the killings, put a cease-fire in place, and bring the parties to the negotiating table. We have spoken directly to Rwandan government officials, the Rwandan military, and the RPF, in Washington, via diplomatic channels in other locations, and by telephone to Rwanda and have reinforced these private contacts with high-level public appeals and statements by the President and the State Department.

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

- 5 -

We have worked to mobilize the international community. HA Assistant Secretary Shattuck, U.S. Ambassador to Rwanda David Rawson, and Refugee Programs DAS Brunson McKinley traveled to the region the first week in May and found broad support for aggressive multilateral action to help Rwanda. We encouraged the efforts of the Tanzanian Government, as Facilitator of the Arusha process, to reconvene peace talks and sent an observer to the May 3 talks.

The U.S. encouraged the Organization of African Unity, other regional states, and our European allies to join us in urging the Rwandans to agree to a cease-fire and resume talks. We pushed for approval of a strong Security Council statement, issued April 30, which demands that the interim government of Rwanda and the RPF take effective measures to prevent attacks on civilians and calls on all states to cease shipments of arms to Rwanda. In this regard, we are pursuing a formal arms embargo against Rwanda in the Security Council. We also encouraged increased involvement by the UN Human Rights Commissioner, who now plans to travel to Rwanda. The Canadians have since called for a special session of the UN Human Rights Commission to address the Rwanda crisis.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

Drafted:AF/C:KAiston

Cleared:AF/C:ARender

IO/PHO:DJensen

IO/UNP:SZelle

RP:MLange

P:BThomas

HA:RPowers

AID/OFDA:RTooley

UNCLASSIFIED